

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00  
INRE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07 L-03  
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AMCONSUL IZMIR  
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
USMISSION USNATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L ANKARA 5795

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, TU, CY, GR  
SUBJECT: MAKARIOS' DEATH: PROBABLE TURKISH ATTITUDE TOWARD  
SUCCESSION PROBLEM

1. WE HAVE AS YET HAD NO OPPORTUNITY TO GET A DIRECT READING  
OF GOT REACTION TO THE NEWS OF ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS' DEATH.  
NOR DO WE HAVE AS YET ANY TURKISH EDITORIAL REACTION, SINCE  
THE DEATH OCCURRED AS TODAY'S (AUGUST 3) NEWSPAPERS WERE  
ALREADY BEING DISTRIBUTED. NEWS OF THE DEATH HAS BEEN  
CARRIED STRAIGHT ON TURKISH RADIO NEWS BROADCASTS.

2. HOWEVER, WE HAVE ANALYZED TURKEY'S LIKELY REACTION  
AND PRESENT OUR EVALUATION HEREWITH:

A. FOR THE GOT, THE QUESTION OF WHO WILL SUCCEED MAKARIOS  
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WILL IMMEDIATELY BECOME THE PARAMOUNT CURRENT ISSUE IN  
CYPRUS. PENDING SETTLEMENT OF THAT ISSUE, NO GOT DECISIONS  
ABOUT OTHER CYPRIOT MATTERS -- SPECIFICALLY INCLUDING THE  
INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS -- WILL BE POSSIBLE.

B. IN THE IMMEDIATE AFTERMATH OF THE DEATH, TURKEY IS  
LIKELY TO FOLLOW A WATCH-AND-WAIT POLICY TO SEE HOW THE  
SUCCESSION PROBLEM IS RESOLVED.

C. ASIDE FROM MILITARY INTERVENTION OR THE THREAT OF MILITARY INTERVENTION, TURKEY HAS NO MEANS OF POSSITIVELY AND DIRECTLY INFLUENCING THE SUCCESSION PROCESS. THE GOT WILL REGARD GREECE, BY CONTRAST, AS HAVING POTENTIALLY GREAT DIRECT INFLUENCE ON THE SUCCESSION. THUS THE GOT IS LIKELY TO CONSIDER GREECE AS HAVING NOT ONLY A PRINCIPAL ROLE BUT ALSO PRINCIPAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE OUTCOME. THERE PROBABLY WILL BE STRONG SUSPICIONS WITHIN THE GOT THAT GREECE WILL USE THE OPPORTUNITY OF MAKARIOS' DEATH TO INSTALL A PRO-GREEK, PRO-ENOSIS PRESIDENT, CONTRARY TO TURKEY'S DEMONSTRATED INTEREST IN PREVENTING ENOSIS AND MAINTAINING CYPRUS' INDEPENDENCE.

D. THE TURKS PROBABLY WILL HAVE LITTLE CONFIDENCE IN ANY GREEK CYPRIOT PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE. THEIR LOGICAL PREFERENCE WOULD BE FOR A CANDIDATE WITH MINIMAL TIES TO GREECE AND TO PRO-ENOSIS GROUPS. BUT ON THE BASIS OF THEIR NON-PERFORMANCE IN SUPPORT OF CLERIDES WHEN HE WAS THE GREEK CYPRIOT REPRESENTATIVE IN THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS, THEY SHOULD NOT BE EXPECTED TO GO FAR IN SUPPORT OF ANY CANDIDATE (AS BY PROMISING CERTAIN CONCESSIONS IF HE WERE MADE PRESIDENT).

E. THE POSSIBILITY THAT TURKEY WOULD AT SOME POINT USE ITS TREATY RIGHT OF INTERVENTION AS A GUARANTOR POWER TO "RESTORE CONSTITUTIONAL ORDER" IN SOUTHERN CYPRUS DOES NOT LOOK STRONG ON THE BASIS OF DEVELOPMENTS SO FAR. IT IS EVEN MORE UNLIKELY THAT TURKEY WOULD AUTHORIZE A UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE (UDI) BY THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS AS A RESPONSE TO EVENTS IN THE SOUTH. IT IS NONETHELESS CONCEIVABLE THAT FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS COULD MAKE BOTH POSSIBILITIES STRONGER (WITHOUT, HOWEVER, MAKING EITHER ONE AUTOMATIC). AMONG POSSIBLE SUCH DEVELOPMENTS THAT OCCUR TO US ARE:

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(1) A STRONGLY PRO-ATHENS AND PRO-ENOSIS GREEK CYPRIOT FACTION TAKES POWER BY EXTRA-LEGAL MEANS, REPEATING MORE OR LESS THE SITUATION THAT IMPELLED THE 1974 INTERVENTION; OR

(2) GREECE TAKES ACTS IMPLYING A MOVE TOWARD ASSUMPTION OF AUTHORITY IN SOUTHERN CYPRUS; OR

(3) A GREEK CYPRIOT FACTION CARRIES OUT A MAJOR PROVOCATION OF TURKISH FORCES IN CYPRUS; OR

(4) CIVIL WAR BREAKS OUT AMONG GREEK CYPRIOTS AND THE DETERIORATING SITUATION CONVINCES THE GOT THAT ITS INTERESTS REQUIRE INTERVENTION.

F. MEANWHILE, ON THE PETTY SIDE, WE MAY SEE TURKISH EFFORTS TO URGE THAT MAKARIOS' DEATH IS A LOGICAL POINT FOR ENDING INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION OF THE GREEK CYPRIOT ADMINISTRATION AS THE GOVERNMENT OF CYPRUS.

3. IN OUR VIEW, THE MAIN IMMEDIATE NEED IS FOR PRIVATE  
GREEK-TURKISH CONSULTATION ON HOW BEST TO ASSURE A PEACEFUL,  
DEMOCRATIC SUCCESSION. THIS CONSULTATION SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED  
AS SOON AS POSSIBLE-- BEFORE THE TURKISH SUSPICIONS ALLUDED  
TO ABOVE HAVE A CHANCE TO MAKE PROGRESS. WE BELIEVE IT WOULD  
BE MOST EFFECTIVE IF SUCH CONSULTATION WERE PROPOSED BY THE  
GREEKS TO THE TURKS. EMBASSIES ATHENS AND NICOSIA MAY  
WISH TO COMMENT.  
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## Message Attributes

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Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009